

## Draft Proposal for ES General Line

### WE RECOGNIZE THE NEED FOR FUNDAMENTAL SOCIAL CHANGE

#### The History of Society Is the History of Class Struggle

During the primitive stages of human development, technology was limited to sticks and stones. What was produced was sufficient only for a bare existence. But with the development of new tools, crafts and new methods of farming a surplus was produced above what was needed for subsistence. In order to expand production wars were fought and captives were made slaves to use the tools to produce wealth for their captors. This was the first division of society into 2 classes -- masters and slaves, exploiters and exploited, people who live upon the labor of others.

It was a ruthless and brutal system. Slaves were but "talking tools" and their lives were held cheaply by their masters who lived lives of luxury and waste. The pyramids of Egypt and the tombs of China, Japan and Mexico attest to the extremes to which slaves were forced to labor. It was the countless masses of slaves who built the Egyptian, Greek, Roman and Chinese civilizations to their heights.

Instead of developing new methods of production to increase its wealth, the ruling class conquered new territories from which it extracted taxes, goods and more slaves. Constant wars and compulsory military service led many of the free population into debt. Driven out by slave labor, the free craftsmen joined the impoverished masses who were without means of earning a living. There were numerous bloody slave revolts such as the rebellion led by the Roman slave Spartacus. Besides internal conflicts, there were revolts in the conquered territories and the threat of invasion.

These conditions gave rise to the State and the instruments of government which the ruling class used to protect and maintain its power and wealth -- the armies, the police, the courts, officials and tax collectors. But the state was not able to arrest the decay of society, nor was it able to stop the revolutionary developments in the forces of production.

New methods of working iron, the plough, the loom and new methods of farming plus a labor force of runaway slaves and free -- but landless -- peasants provided the opportunity to expand production to a level never before possible.

The obstacle to progress was the reactionary slaveowning class. But slave revolts and civil wars struck deathblows to the slave system, and in its wake the class of landlords, in whose hands land had become concentrated, rose to power. In contradiction to this class were the masses of peasants and ex-slaves who, in return for the right to subsist on the land, were required to pay service and a part of their products to the landlord. Essentially, what arose out of the destruction of the old society was a new form of exploitation -- feudalism.

The development of trade and exchange intensified the exploitation of the masses, as the feudal lords' appetites for luxuries grew. In order to obtain money with which to buy these foreign goods, a greater surplus was required to exchange for money. The oppression of the makaainana by the chiefs during the sandalwood trade in Hawaii is a clear example of the effects of trade on a pre-capitalist economy.

The monopoly of trade led to the accumulation of wealth in the hands of the merchants who were eager to develop new forms of production -- manufacture and mass agriculture. The landlord-tenant bond, the ownership of land by the feudal lords, and the

state which upheld the feudal order of society were barriers to this development. But the feudal landlord class was in crisis.

The feudal mode of production was such that the methods of farming and the landlord-peasant relation yielded low productivity, thus causing the feudal lords to incur debts and driving the peasants into poverty. Rather than improving the forces of production, the feudal lords chose to increase the exploitation of their subjects and to capture the wealth of their rivals through wars. This only led to deeper debt and the impoverishment of the masses.

### Modern History is the Record of the Ruthless Expansion of Capitalism

The rising bourgeoisie of merchants and manufacturers and the new mode of production they represented -- capitalism -- required land and labor. Land they got by capturing control of the state and enacting laws to break up feudal landholdings and making land into a commodity to be bought and sold. In Hawaii, the haole capitalists engineered the Great Mahele which resulted in the alienation of the Hawaiians from the land and the concentration of land in the capitalist class. In England, the bourgeoisie drove peasants off the land by force and turned the farmland into pastures or large farms. The landless and debt-ridden peasants had two choices -- become beggars or wage-laborers for the bourgeoisie. So it was by dispossessing the peasants of their land that the bourgeoisie formed its labor force, the proletariat.

Seeking greater wealth, the bourgeoisie turned to the exploitation of lands overseas. The rape of Africa and the enslavement of its people, the colonization of the New World and the plunder of the East Indies was the European capitalists' road to economic and political world domination. Estimates of the amount of wealth produced by the lucrative slave trade and squeezed out of the labor of the slaves come to about \$1 billion dollars. The cost -- 60 million African lives, not including the decimation of native populations in the West Indies and Central America.

By studying the history of human society we can see that the development of society from the lower to the higher stages has been accomplished by the overthrow of one class by another which represents a more advanced form of production.

This is the law of social development that revolutionized Hawaiian society between 1778 and the late 1880s. Captain James Cook, when he set foot on the shores of these islands in 1778, represented the highest level of social development that Europe had achieved up to that time. He introduced a more highly developed set of productive forces -- iron tools, ships and gunpowder -- and a new set of productive relations -- the exploitation of workers by capitalists to yield surplus to exchange for profit. This signalled the total dislocation of Hawaiian society, beginning with the oppression of the common people by their own chiefs and the decimation of the Hawaiian population through overwork and disease.

The existing mode of production in Hawaiian society -- communal property, a system of sharing, and production for subsistence -- were obstacles in the drive to develop capitalist production. Following the same pattern as their peers in other areas of the world, the capitalists in Hawaii engineered the Great Mahele which in effect dispossessed the Hawaiians of their lands and provided them with little choice but to sell their labor to the capitalists.

In America, the colonial relation between the 13 colonies and Britain was the fetter upon the development of capitalism in the colonies. The Revolution of 1776 smashed the economic and political domination of the British ruling class and paved the way for the unrestricted development of capitalism in America.

The ascendancy of the capitalist class was not limited to the economic sphere. It created or altered institutions to advance and consolidate its control over all of society. That religion which supported the values of laissez faire capitalism (unrestricted capitalism) became the religion recognized by the ruling class. Schools took on the function of transmitting the values of the ruling class -- free enterprise, competition, individualism, profit -- and training workers to maintain the division of labor -- the class divisions in society. In Hawaii, the University of Hawaii was established to serve the technological interests of the sugar planters, and the discriminatory English standard school system was set up to separate out the children of the haole elite from the children of the working class, to train the former into the elite class and to train the latter into the laboring class.

A state apparatus was built to protect the interests of the capitalists. In the article "Constitution Called Work of Minority Rich" in the August 21, 1975 issue of the Advertiser, it is pointed out that:

our Constitution was devised as a means of protecting land speculators, bankers, manufacturers, shippers and slave owners from the politics and tendencies of the new country's majority of small farmers. . . .

the American Constitution simply doesn't make sense unless it is understood that the document was written by representatives of a minority class of white men who not only stood to gain financially from the new government but were being overwhelmed by the increasingly democratic forces coming to power in the state governments.

In Hawaii, the Bayonet Constitution was forced upon Kalakaua which made the King "subordinate in theory as well as in fact to the propertied haoles of Honolulu." (Lawrence Fuchs, Hawaii Pono, p. 29)

The state instituted laws to protect private property, tariffs to secure the home market from foreign competition, and military defense against foreign aggression.

It was this capitalist class which then led the nation into a policy of expansion and national oppression which committed genocide against the native American Indians and conquered and annexed Mexican territory in the Southwest, and the Philippines and Hawaii in the Pacific. Why did a nation, born out of struggle against national oppression, become an oppressing nation in turn? The answer lies in the expand or die nature of capitalism. The pursuit of profits leads to increasing needs for land, labor, markets, and capital. When the nation cannot supply these demands, the capitalists have to seek other means. These means have included territorial conquest, colonization, and importation of foreign labor. The fact of history is that the wealth of the monopoly capitalist class in the U.S. was squeezed out of the superexploitation of non-white people at home -- the Indians, the Blacks, the Chicanos, the Asians -- and abroad in Asia, Latin America, and Africa.



## Capitalism Is On Its Deathbed

Clearly, at this stage, expansion is becoming more and more difficult for the monopoly capitalists. Countries are resisting the inflow of U.S. capital and are levying tariffs on American goods. There are no areas left to conquer. Third World nations are fighting back after decades of exploitation and political domination. South Vietnam and Angola are recent examples of this revolutionary trend. The implications for imperialist countries, especially the U.S., are clear. No longer will they be able to obtain raw materials cheap from Third World countries who will control their own resources and will use them to develop their economies in order to raise the standard of living of their people. It will become increasingly difficult for imperialists to dump their surplus goods overseas as Third World and Second World countries aim toward self-reliance and trade based on mutual benefit.

The periodic crisis of overproduction, then, can be expected to worsen. And, as the monopoly capitalists become more desperate in their pursuit of profits we can expect more intense exploitation and oppression of people at home and abroad.

Let's look at the present crisis. The Department of Commerce reported that the nation's Gross National Product (GNP), the broadest measure of national economic activity, "declined for a record second straight year in 1975 . . . There have never before been back-to-back yearly drops in the GNP since record-keeping began in 1946." (Star-Bulletin, 1/20/76) In Hawaii, the balance of payments with mainland and foreign countries for 1973 showed a deficit of \$299.5 million, "more than 2½ times the previous year's deficit." (Hawaii '75 Annual Economic Review, 25th Edition, Bank of Hawaii, p. 32) Tourism, one of Hawaii's top industries, had a growth of only 1.3% in 1975. "In the past decade, the industry has been accustomed to increases of 16 per cent to more than 30 per cent a year. . . ." (Star-Bulletin, 1/28/76)

The recession has widened the gap between the rich and poor in the U.S. Between 1968 and 1973 "a total of \$20 billion was transformed from the bottom three-fifths of U.S. families to the upper two-fifths." Statistics from the U.S. Bureau of the Census Survey, 1973, show that:

. . . the poorest 20 per cent of the nation's families, those with incomes of \$6,081 a year and under, received only 5.5 per cent of the total income. At the other end of the income scale, the top 20 per cent of families, consisting of those whose incomes exceeded \$19,253, received 41.1 per cent of the total. They had more income than the entire 60 per cent of the population at the bottom. The average family in this top "quintile" received 7.5 times the income of the average family in the lowest 20 per cent. (Advertiser, 6/2/75)

Inflation -- which, like recession, is inherent in an unplanned, profit-driven economy -- has brought added hardship to the working class. Because of massive military expenditures to secure foreign markets, the government has been spending more than it has been taking in and printing up more money to pay its bills, to balance payments, and to stimulate the sagging economy. As a result our currency is not worth much more than the paper it is printed on.

The Census Bureau reported that "American families in 1974 had about the same real income as they did in 1969, even though the dollar amount of earnings rose substantially . . . ." (Star-Bulletin, 1/31/76). The Bank of Hawaii's annual economic report says



that in Hawaii:

. . . while the average wage in 1974, in current dollars was \$8,881, in "real" terms, using constant 1960 dollars, the average wage paid amounted to \$5,337 last year, the lowest since 1969, reflecting the serious inroads made by inflation in Hawaii as elsewhere in the United States. (p. 15)

The cost of living in Hawaii in 1974 increased 10.5% over 1973. The cost of food rose 17.4% and the cost of housing rose 7.6%. The Department of Labor estimated that a typical family of four in Hawaii on a low budget (renting a home and having a diet largely starch with little meat) in 1974 needed an income of \$11,383 (an increase of 25% from 1972) but State statistics show that "It's clear that the 'average' salary for a worker is barely enough to meet the Labor Department's 'low-budget' needs for a family of four." (Advertiser, 4/16/75)

The Census Bureau also reported that inflation "plunged another 1.3 million persons into poverty" so that over 10% of the population (24.3 million Americans) were classified as poor in 1974. What was significant was that "all those who fell into poverty in 1974 were employed." The Bureau reported that "the 12 per cent inflation of 1974 -- the worst since World War II -- eroded wage and salary gains made in the previous four years, but hurt the richest least." (Star-Bulletin, 1/31/76)

In fact, the top 10 highest paid business executives earned between them a total of \$7,115,000 in 1974. Four of the top 11 were from the oil industry which "enjoyed a bonanza year" profitting off of the outrageous gas prices that the people had to pay. (Parade, 6/15/75) In Hawaii, Amfac, Dillingham Corp., Castle & Cooke, Alexander & Baldwin, and C. Brewer & Co. all recorded increased sales from 8.4% to 104.3% for 1974. The sugar shortage led to record high revenues for Alexander & Baldwin and C. Brewer & Co., and Amfac had sales of over a billion dollars.

The crisis is hitting national minorities with particular force. In the ghettos, they are forced to pay even higher prices. On the job site, they are last hired, first fired. They become scapegoats -- pointed to by the ruling class as the cause of society's problems -- as a tactic to divide people's struggles. Deportation raids are taking place against aliens. Blacks are subjected to racist genetics studies which are used by the ruling class to justify and reinforce inequality -- to justify sterilization (William Shockley) and cutting off of funds to upgrade their quality of education (Arthur Jensen). A genetics study is being conducted right here at UH to research the heritability of intelligence. The study is justified on the grounds that it will provide a "basis for future decisions about the disturbing but inevitable questions about population control which will have to be made at governmental level."

Since slave society when men, by virtue of their ownership of the means of production, came to dominate society, women have been exploited as cheap or unpaid labor and denied equal rights in employment, education, religion, and politics. Only after a long struggle beginning in 1848 was women's suffrage finally won in 1920 in the U.S. But as time passed and the condition of women remained unchanged, women realized that suffrage was not the answer to their exploitation in the home and in the factory. The Women's Liberation Movement of the 1960s and 1970s aimed at achieving equality where it matters -- in the economic sphere -- and succeeded in winning the Equal Rights Amendment. In the present economic crisis, however, women find themselves in a double bind: having to work to keep the family's income ahead of inflation but being among the first to be laid off. In these conditions, the ERA is but an empty gesture.

The crisis does not spare the youth. "Half the nation's 16 million young people between 16 and 19 are jobless, including two-thirds of the blacks in this age range." (Advertiser, 7/27/75) Today's youth are growing up in a decadent capitalist culture which exploits sex and violence in books, magazines, TV shows, movies. With little to look forward to they are attracted to mysticism, dope, and religious fanaticism. "The NEA said that in 1975 students committed more than 100 murders, 12,000 armed robberies, 9,000 rapes and 204,000 aggravated assaults." (Star-Bulletin, 2/2/76) In the schools themselves there were 207,000 burglaries and vandalism that resulted in \$600 million worth of damage. The "solution" to these conditions has been:

"Millions are being spent on sophisticated security systems and armed police patrols in and around troubled schools. Closed-circuit television, electric sensors, walkie-talkies, pocket-size 'panic buttons' that allow teachers to signal the central office when threatened by youths -- these already are used where crime stalks the corridors and classrooms. . . ."

The burden of the crisis is being shifted onto college students, too. Hikes in tuition, dorm, and parking fees are driving up the cost of education, while funds for financial aid programs are being cut back. More and more working class and self-supporting students are turning to the community colleges. In 1974, 23,600 students out of 40,000 students in the University of Hawaii system held jobs. (Star-Bulletin, 2/6/76) While the costs of education increase each year, the quality of education is deteriorating. Cutbacks in course offerings and faculty have created less desirable learning conditions. Ethnic studies programs which minority students fought for and won have been cut. On November 18, President Ford asked Congress to cut \$1.28 billion in 1976 education appropriations. The AAUPP Legislative News, Nov. 26, 1975, reported that the proposed cuts include:

the entire appropriation of \$240 million for Supplemental Educational Opportunity Grants; \$140 million of a total appropriation of \$390 million for College Work-Study; and the entire appropriation of \$322.5 million for the National Direct Student Loans. Rescissions were also requested for language training and area-studies centers, community service programs, . . . veterans' cost of instruction . . . ethnic heritage studies. . . .

The future that capitalist society holds for today's youth is bleak. The prospects of unemployment and having to fight in an imperialist war offer little hope.

### The Basic Contradiction Is Between Social Production and Private Appropriation

It is clear who is bearing the brunt of the recession and inflation -- the vast majority of people in the working class on whose backs the monopoly capitalists shift the furdens of the crisis. The monopoly capitalists can slow down or shut down production and lay off workers until the surplus of goods wears down. They can keep goods off the market, creating artificial shortages and thereby driving up prices. They can destroy goods -- goods that the people need but cannot afford -- rather than selling them at a lower price. They can fix prices in the industry they monopolize, as we saw in the sugar and oil industries. They can close down factories and run away to

foreign countries where materials and labor are cheap. All this the monopoly capitalists can do because they control the means of production, including the labor power of the workers. And all these they have done and will continue to do because of their primary concern -- profits for their class.

Monopoly capitalists can use the courts to impose injunctions on strikes and to undermine the ability and right of workers to strike. For example, on October 15, 1975, the Federal court ruled in favor of Hawaiian Telephone Company, denying unemployment compensation to the 3,000 HawTel workers who struck the company in 1974.

The monopoly capitalists can use the police to enforce court orders, to break up strikes and people's demonstrations (such as the January 21, 1976 arrests at the People's Coalition demonstration at the Capitol), to evict people from their homes to pave the way for their profit-seeking development (Kalama Valley), and to terrorize national minorities in their communities.

The monopoly capitalists can use the legislature to enact anti-strike bills such as Senate Bill 1126, introduced by Inouye and Fong in 1975. Other pro-monopoly capitalist bills are the Rodino bill which is aimed against aliens who the monopoly capitalist first exploit and then try to get rid of when they create a "labor surplus," and Senate Bill 1. Bill Blum of the National Lawyers' Guild points out:

As the current economic crisis in the US deepens, a confrontation between those seeking progressive social change and those who seek to preserve the outmoded economic and political structures of monopoly capitalism is almost inevitable . . . The interests protected by S-1 are the values of accumulated wealth and property. The bill directly frustrates such vital interests of the American people as free speech, meaningful work, adequate and stable living standards and active participation in the formulation of social and political policy. It also renders the class character of the government transparent.

The monopoly capitalists can use the military and the CIA to intervene in the internal affairs of foreign countries in order to destabilize anti-imperialist governments such as Allende's government in Chile, to protect American investments from worker uprisings and attempts to nationalize multinational industries in Latin America and the Middle East, and to assassinate anti-imperialist leaders such as Cuba's Castro and the Congo's Lumumba.

Billions of dollars in foreign aid are spent to prop up racist, fascist, and puppet regimes that protect the interests of American imperialists. Repressive governments, including 56 military dictatorships, in So. Africa, So. Vietnam, So. Korea, Greece, Spain, the Philippines and other countries have received \$81 billion in U.S. aid since 1945 which they have used to "terrorize and subjugate their own people," according to a study made by Senator Alan Cranston of California.

All this the monopoly capitalists can do through campaign contributions, influential lobbies, bribes (Spiro Agnew), putting their own men into high offices (notably Robert McNamara of Ford Motor Company as Secretary of Defense under Kennedy, and presently Nelson Rockefeller as Vice President and Henry Kissinger -- formerly with the Rockefellers -- as Secretary of State) and primarily because historically the state was



set up for the purpose of protecting the interests of the bourgeoisie. Therefore, it is not surprising that 20% of U.S. senators are millionaires, including Inouye and Fong of Hawaii. (Parade, 2/15/76)

### The Trend in the World Is Revolution and Socialism

Capitalist society has reached the point where the forces of production-- the level of skill of the workers and advanced technology -- provide the basis for a standard of living only dreamed of in the past. But in contradiction to this is the reactionary monopoly capitalist class. The means of production -- the land, the factories, the machines -- which are absolutely essential to produce our basic needs are privately owned by a small class of monopoly capitalists. And because they will produce for their profit, the people's needs for housing, adequate food and clothing, proper medical care, decent education, and old-age security are not provided for. The working class which produces the wealth in society is driven into poverty.

Again the contradiction between the forces of production and the relations of production -- those that produce the wealth of society and those that appropriate the wealth has intensified in capitalist society. Historically, this contradiction has been resolved through the overthrow of the ruling class by the class which represents the more advanced form of production and the formation of a new social system. Contemporary history shows that the contradictions in capitalism have led to proletarian revolution -- the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat -- and the construction of a socialist society based on social ownership and control of the productive forces in society and where the state serves to facilitate the transition to a classless society, free of exploitation and inequality.

Fundamental changes were made. Capitalist relations of production -- the root cause of economic, political, and social oppression -- were destroyed. The bourgeois state -- the legislative body, the courts, and the military -- whose function was to maintain the rule of the bourgeoisie was abolished. And bourgeois culture and ideology were combatted.

Beginning with the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in 1917, socialism has been steadily advancing. China, Albania, No. Korea, Cuba, and in 1975 So. Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos have also won liberation from imperialism and the oppressive rule of the bourgeoisie and are building socialist societies. The older socialist countries have made tremendous strides in increasing productivity, stabilizing prices, raising the general standard of living, and bringing about full employment and racial and sexual equality.

The world is in upheaval as revolutions sweep across the continents. In 1974 Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Angola won independence from Portugal. Portugal, a Second World country, itself a victim of parasitic imperialism, is in political turmoil. In 1975, Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos defeated the biggest superpower in the world -- the U.S. -- and won national liberation after decades of undying struggle. In the Middle East, in Latin America, in Puerto Rico, in the South Pacific, in the Philippines resistance grows day by day.

### The Working Class Is the Main Force

The main force in all of these revolutions has been the working class. Under capitalism, workers have been brought together into large productive units. They have been taught to work as a team, and they have developed discipline and organization. As such, the working class -- together with the available machinery -- represents the highest development of society's productive forces. Thus the working class has the skill to realize the vast productive potential inherent in machinery and large-scale social production to better the conditions of life of the masses.

### We Stand with the Working Class

The history of ethnic minorities and the whole working class in Hawaii is a history of struggle against the bourgeoisie to better the standard of living and to gain democratic rights. Only through struggle, did the quality of life of Hawaii's ethnic and working people improve. Unionism and electoral politics were initially progressive and brought needed reforms but have not solved the basic economic, political and social inequalities in our society.

We look at the alternatives facing us. One is the continued existence of capitalism through more intense exploitation and oppression of people at home and abroad, crisis, war, temporary recovery, then worse crisis, fascism, war, and devastation. The other alternative is the hope for a better life that socialism offers. We recognize the need for fundamental social change and looking over the development of society, seeing that each social revolution has brought about a better society, and seeing the trend in the world today toward socialism we are open to the study of socialism and we are open to the study of the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought and its application to the historical and contemporary conditions in Hawaii, the U.S., and the world.

In our work in the Ethnic Studies Program we will aim at developing politically class conscious students as allies of the working class, linked in the struggle for fundamental social change.



WE RECOGNIZE THAT EDUCATION, AS PART OF THE SUPERSTRUCTURE WHICH SUPPORTS THE RULE OF THE MONOPOLY CAPITALISTS, IS A BARRIER TO FUNDAMENTAL SOCIAL CHANGE .

### The Historical role of Education in the Capitalist System

The education system, like any other institution in the U.S. , is part of the superstructure which makes up and supports the continued rule of the small monopoly capitalist class. Today, education is one of largest and most powerful institutions in the U.S. with 1/4 of the population enrolled in elementary, secondary, and higher institutions of learning. One per cent of the population is also employed as teachers.

Historically, the U.S. was the first advanced capitalist country to introduce universal public education. Since its establishment in the 19th century, public education has been closely tied with the tremendous new needs of the rising monopoly capitalist class. The U.S. economy was expanding at a rate and scale far outstripping the older capitalist countries of Europe. America was fast becoming the center for the latest technological advances as major industries were becoming larger and more complex. In order for the capitalists economy to reach new level-, it required at the same time, an advance in the cultural level of the working class. This was because of the basic fact that they would be running the machines and assembly lines and not the capitalists.

Universal public education meant bringing the sons and daughters of the working class to a minimal level of literacy (reading, writing, basic math skills, and the ability to speak the English language) that they would be prepared to run machinery, read instructions, and take orders from foremen and managers in factories and businesses. The basic motive for publically funded education was meant to further enslave the working class and not to liberate them from monopoly capitalist class rule. It is for this reason that the ruling class took up and encouraged "state supported public education.

It is in this context that we must look at the manipulation of students by an education system in a capitalist society at every level of learning. Primarily, students are trained to become workers at different levels and positions in capitalist production, a system controlled by the monopoly capitalist class. Education not only trains the student to accept a position, but also functions to uphold an exploitative class society by tracking students into mental or manual training.

The tracking system began early in Hawaii's education. An English Standard school system was established in the 1900's where the English language was used as the basis for entrance exams. Those youth who had mastered the English language were admitted into school which offered special education in advanced skills, theory and leadership. Those who did not pass the test because they spoke pidgin English ( a "lingo" not considered English) were trained and prepared for vocational work in agriculture and mechanics, basic skills needed for Hawaii's sugar and pineapple plantation economy. In 1918, a territorial biennial report suggested this as policy: "one of the most most serious tasks placed upon the schools is that of developing in their graduates a tendency towards agricultural and mechanical employment." It was made clear that academics of "schooling" were well and good but, Hawaii's educators needed to put foremost another aim, training for work. The intermediate schools were prepared to serve that same purpose as they pointed out their purpose to be the preparation of students for "citizenship, health, and the ability to make good in some productive labor." In response to Hawaii's particular economic situation and social order , the monopoly capitalists (the Big 5)



realized that the economy depended on unskilled, low-cost labor, and a well educated work force would be a threat to their interests.

The school system emphasizes social conditioning which underscores mindless regimentation (obedience, forced punctuality, etc.) and unquestional submission to authority, and blind loyalty to school or team. All these ideas indoctrinated in their minds will eventually keep them oppressed as workers. Grades, conduct reports, exams, tardiness, and authoritarian roles between students and teachers all facilitate and reinforce this type of "employer mentality". Students are faced with the prospect of making it and getting ahead by competing and studying harder than the next student. These types of controls over the students demand the same type of passive acceptance and suppression of dissent that will be required of them on the job sight.

In Hawaii even the lunch period was used to assimilate the students into a business like managerial control atmosphere with separate work groups carrying out different chores under different "leaders". It was a conscious policy of those in control of the school system that the best way to facilitate learning in the classroom was through manual chores. In the elementary schools early in this century there were also gardens where the children as young as they were, were taught skills in productive agriculture.

#### The University : A Bastion of Bourgeois Ideology

Unlike the nature of mass education in the public school system, the university is an institution that trains the professionals and intellectual elite of the society who perpetuate bourgeois ideology that justifies the existence of capitalism and maintains the rule of the monopoly capitalist class. The most important role of the university in the class structure of education is that it is primarily where the production and refinement of ideas justifying and propagating the capitalist mode of production is carried on. This is the work of scholars, scientists, lawyers, artists, etc. and it is they who produce the legal precepts, political theory, economic thoughts, philosophical ideas, artistic sensibilities (racism, Keynesian economics, Eastern Mysticism, etc.) that hide the real class relations of people in this society.

Universities not only help to maintain monopoly capitalist class rule by spreading bourgeois ideology, but also by serving as chief centers for most of the war related and industry related research. These researchers engage in the actual development, construction, and testing of new machinery and production techniques. These experiments benefit capitalist enterprise but are paid for by the working class through their taxes.

With the sugar industry well established in Hawaii and the pineapple quickly becoming Hawaii's second largest agricultural industry, the University of Hawaii was established in 1907 as a land grant College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. The purpose of the college was to provide "thorough instruction in the agriculture arts, mechanic arts, and the natural sciences connected therewith and such instruction in other branches of advanced learning as the Board of Regents may from time to time prescribe and to give such instruction in the military as the federal government may require." Industry at the time was heavily dependent on large amounts of manual labor and needed to advance industrially and technologically in order to compete in the sugar market profitably. This meant the need for mechanization and the expertise (engineers, and mechanics) with the skills to operate the advancing industry.

Education was becoming a tool of the monopoly capitalist class, the Big 5



to serve their own interests. The University was clearly becoming the training grounds for the managers and supervisors of the developing industries in Hawaii. Working class children had already been tracked out from an opportunity to acquire this higher level of education by the English Standard system which siphoned out the children of Hawaii's multi-ethnic working class. Unable to attend the university, they were also unable to attain higher positions in plantation production.

The recommendation of the Governors Advisory Committee on Education in 1931, spelled out the terms of this selective process. The University had a policy that it should be able to attract specialists and for that reason a definite limit should be set to the amount of highschool graduates admitted to the University. From surveys on the sugar and pine industries the University recognized the fact that because of "large scale organization of economic activity" (plantations) in the islands the jobs open to professional were limited to 35 out of a 1000 jobs.

University administrators admitted "all education is a selective process after youths reach the end of compulsory education." The committee went on to say that "the territory needs to discover and train persons of superior ability for special duties and responsibilities that require the very best higher education. It must be sure that those selected for his advanced training are persons of outstanding ability and character so that public funds are not expended on the mediocre or the leadership of the incompetent". Entrance exams would serve that purpose for "it was keeping in the principles of justice and humanity to refuse entrance to those who are obviously unqualified to do successful college work, for failure inevitably results in humiliation and discouragement.

The university system was sound business policy and a wise economy for the controlling monopoly capitalist class in Hawaii. The cost of developing new technological techniques and paying expert scientists and engineers was high. In order to take up these programs and attract the people with the experience needed, the public began to pick up the tab as the university took on these tasks of the growing agriculture industries. In 1924 the Board of Regents agreed to maintain the Pineapple Research Institute and run an experiment for the Hawaiian Pineapple Growers Association. In 1929 the Hawaiian Agriculture Station was established.

In 1924, when Hawaii was continually becoming a powerfully strategic base for the United States military, the University established the Reserve Officers Training Core. And, as the U.S. economic and political interests began to grow in Asia and the Middle East the Oriental Institute was established in 1935 as a "potent force for the international understanding and peace in the Pacific. Later in 1960 the East-West Center was established for essentially the same purpose.

In 1959 the College of Business was established where students were trained in the management of business, finance, and accounting. Eventually the Tourist Industry Management College was established and Hawaii's major industries began to shift from agriculture to tourism and urban development.

The University as well as schools in general also fulfill the crucial role of political indoctrination, consolidating in the peoples minds the bourgeois version of American history. This perspective of the ruling class subordinates the contributions of the masses in moving the society forward. It hides the fact that the working class, through their labor power, have created all the wealth in society, and that the monopoly capitalist class, because they own the means of production have reaped the benefits



their production. The role of national minorities are also depicted inadequately and participation in history is degraded or left out. From elementary school to college, lies are propagated about how the Kings, queens, presidents, businessmen and heroes have built America through "brains and ambition", "rugged individualism", and "manifest destiny". Meanwhile the true history of working people is bastardized or left untold.

In 1921, a Psychological and Psychopathic Clinic was set up under the direction of Stanley D. Porteus at the University of Hawaii. Porteus was a social scientist who developed a maze test and a rating scale which he used to add scientific validation to the racial divisions and stereotyping perpetuated by the Big 5 to keep Hawaii's multi-ethnic working class exploited on the plantations. Porteus was only one individual but represented the views of many social scientists whose research was used as a justification for monopoly capitalist class rule. In a statement on Filipinos in Hawaii he said "to make the system of schooling too over-scholastic might be worse than no benefit at all. The surest way to make a malcontent is to educate him either above his intelligence or his opportunities". The message was clear, education was and still is a tool to maintain a social hierarchy with top positions reserved for the ruling class. Today at the University of Hawaii our Social Science building is named after this racist and studies that threaten the use of racism to divide people and "prove" that one race is superior and the other inferior because of genetic make-up is being carried on.

Today at the University of Hawaii, high tuition costs and entrance exams which have a bourgeois class biased discriminate against youth from the working class and minority backgrounds. Conditions at the University are already making it an elite institute of higher learning and tracking working class student into the community colleges. Therefore students tend to be from petty bourgeois and bourgeois backgrounds and have bourgeois aspirations. In 1970 the percentage of caucasians in the University was 32.1%, Japanese 38% Hawaiian and part-Hawaiians 4.4%, Chinese 11.1% and Filipinos 2.2%. Statistics show that Hawaiians, Samoans, and Filipinos especially are discriminated throughout the entire school system and by the time they reach college age they make up very small percentages of the University population.

Students are isolated from the particular problems of oppression and exploitation that the working class faces. Even if they are aware of the social problems, they lack the analytical tools with which to combat the ruling class explanation of these problems which blame the poor, workers, national minorities, and metaphysical attitudes about human nature, fatalism, and defeatism for the societies social ills.

#### Bourgeois Ideology, A Barrier to Bringing About Fundamental Social Change

At the University, theory is separated from practice and knowledge becomes a tool for self-gain and not for the purpose of serving the needs of the working class. The results of going through this educational process is the creation of ideas and attitudes which keep the student passive uninvolved and unwilling to struggle to bring about social change. Even though the education system tries to isolate the student from the real problems of the world, contradictions and problems of capitalist society still exist and the student must live amongst them. In the past, most students had no relation to the productive forces of the society, but today, even as students, they are working in jobs to support themselves. They are faced with rising costs due to runaway inflation, the prospect of finding a better job upon graduation, and the idea of not being able to afford a home when they want to get one. Immediately, while still in school, students are discriminated against as part-timers,



working for less pay.

Although they face these conditions there are many barriers created by the education system that keep them from doing anything about them. Because of a lack of proletarian ideology and exposure to the contributions of national minorities, there is development of inferiority, self-hate, and narrow nationalism amongst minority students. In the University only two courses are offered on labor history, and until recently through the establishment of the Ethnic Studies program has the history of our own parents and grandparents been taught. The lack of positive ethnic identity that this type of education creates keeps people divided and oppressed, unable to see themselves as equals.

At the same time students are driven towards individualism by competition that divides them and pits them against each other, keeping them from becoming socially motivated to fight against existing problems. "It's going to happen anyway" and "there's nothing we can do" typify the outlook developed and fostered by bourgeois education. It is an outlook which hides the true problems of the world, and keeps students from analyzing those problems seriously. Bourgeois education offers no exposure to class struggle and class consciousness nor a means to bring about fundamental social change.

#### Education A Tool For the Working Class

Within the University students have been able to develop progressive ideas and at the same time fight back against oppression coming down upon them and joining in support of struggles of the working class. Again our own Ethnic Studies Program is an example of this along with our support of the recent Stop Evictions Now march and many other academic aspects of work carried out in the program and on campus. Education has a dialectical relationship in our society in that it can be a tool of the working class to organize themselves against poor conditions and to struggle for control over their own lives. Historically, when public education was introduced it was accepted because of its progressiveness, by the working class. The "academic freedom" the university "offers" can and will backfire on the monopoly capitalist class and provide the conditions for revolutionary education. Universities can become cultural bases of cultural revolution where most thorough critique can be made of the Universities' reactionary and bourgeois role. The University should become an area where the monopoly capitalist class role and ideology can be exposed and combatted with the ideology and eventually the strength of the working class.

Draft of Part III for discussion on March 26, 1976

Courses should discuss this and make concrete suggestions for improvement. This part should be general and incorporate the practice of all the courses. If there are additions or deletions, please write them for distribution for discussion on Friday at the workshop.

(3) THEREFORE, OUR ROLE AS STAFF OF THE ETHNIC STUDIES PROGRAM AT UHM IS TO LAY THE BASIS FOR THE UH COMMUNITY (STUDENTS, FACULTY, CAMPUS WORKERS) TO UNITE WITH THE WORKING CLASS TO STRUGGLE AGAINST THE RULE OF THE MONOPOLY CAPITALIST CLASS AND ITS ECONOMIC SYSTEM AND INSTITUTIONS IN ORDER TO BRING ABOUT FUNDAMENTAL SOCIAL CHANGE, BY:

- a) exposing the class nature of this society, the rule by the bourgeoisie and the ideology used to maintain their rule, through lectures, labs, readings, assignments, forums and involvement in campus and community struggles.
- b) developing the political class consciousness of UH students, faculty and campus worker by providing a DHM analysis in lectures, labs...forums
- c) Involving students, faculty and campus workers in the struggles of oppressed people.

Discussion

Exposing the class nature of society, the rule of the bourgeoisie and the ideology and superstructure used to maintain their rule, in short, combatting bourgeois ideology is one part of laying the basis for unity between the UH community and the working class. The other part is providing a dialectical historical materialist analysis of the conditions of Hawaii's multi-ethnic working class and the particular contradictions they face. This would lay out concretely and historically, why students should begin to identify their own roots, experiences and interests with those of the working class and other oppressed peoples, and develop the outlook and perspective of the working class. Both are part of the process of developing the political class consciousness of the students and other members of the UH community. Our aim in developing their political class consciousness is to motivate them to work wholeheartedly now, and/or in the future, for a better quality of life for the vast majority of people. The following describes more particularly what is meant by political class consciousness:

Awareness that problems exist, and that they are rooted in the basic contradiction in the capitalist system where value and products are socially produced by the working class, but the means of production are privately owned and therefore the owners, who make up the capitalist ruling class, privately expropriate the value of what is produced.

Understanding the historical development of the mode of production in Hawaii from semi-communal/feudal agricultural subsistence to a capitalist commercial market economy as the basis for the changes in the lifestyle of the people, their relations in production, their relation to the means of production and the rise of a new exploitative class of merchant capitalists is basic to developing class conscious awareness of the problems that we face in Hawaii today. Of primary importance is to understand the class forces and the class struggle that developed in response to the changing conditions. Particular contradictions that we cover are: monopoly of land, the reasons for the housing crisis, exploitation of the multi-ethnic working class in Hawaii, cultural genocide, racism, sexism, American imperialist exploitation of Hawaiians, immigrant groups, and the people and countries of the Third World, facism, war, poverty, unemployment, economic crises.



2) Orientation towards Serving the People:

To see that the majority of Hawaii's people are of the working class and have working class backgrounds which is the class that creates all the wealth and value in society. To realize that they should join with them rather than be motivated by their own narrow self-interest. They should support the working class rather than the ruling class, or aspire to become a part of the ruling class or a lackey of the ruling class. They should learn to value the manual labor of our working class rather than look down upon it and isolate themselves from it. We should aim at serving the interests of the working and poor people rather than the ruling class which oppresses all classes under them. They should aim at becoming active contributors in developing the progress of this society and to end exploitation of man by man. They should aim at creating practical value in their work that will be useful. In courses they should work together with other students in project or course work, rather than compete with each other for grades. We must be concerned with the well-being of the masses of the people. We must remember that "the people and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history."

3) Willingness to unite with oppressed people in their struggle against ruling class exploitation for a better quality of life for the vast majority of people.

Generally, this means to take up the struggle to improve the material well-being of the masses of people and for the masses of people to begin to organize to assume control over their own lives. This includes day-to-day struggles and protracted struggles. To see that in the struggle for equality and to end exploitation of man by man, society has and will continue to move forward. Given the conditions in the world, this concretely means to take up the struggle to: oppose the monopolist capitalist class and their economic, political and social system; to struggle to improve living conditions; to support the full democratic rights for national minorities and women and oppose discrimination against them; oppose fascism and acts of selected fascism, oppose wars of imperialist aggression; support the struggles of Third World and Second World countries against the hegemonic actions of the U.S. and the USSR. To begin to build step-by-step for the overthrow of the capitalist class and the rule of the proletariat under a system of socialism one starts at basic levels--building a mass movement among students, workers, community people, various ethnic groups. This involves working through the system to force concessions and expose the system and its rulers; engaging in mass struggles and/or individual fightbacks, teaching from a working class perspective; developing propaganda materials; going into spontaneous struggles of the people and put proletarian leadership and politics in the front. In this work our task would be to raise the political class consciousness of the people and organize the people to gain greater control over their own lives in the process, thereby developing a people's force to challenge the forces of the ruling class. For each of us the level of commitment in this struggle varies. It is a protracted struggle to transform our own outlook and forsake our own interests and work in the interest of the people.

4) A Positive Ethnic Identity: It is hard for us who have had our culture suppressed by American Imperialism to look back with pride at our heritage given the historical accounts written by the ruling class. We have been educated to look down upon our working ancestors and look with shame upon their culture and lifestyles. To gain a positive sense of identity with our ethnic heritage and our working class roots, we must understand that the conditions that we find many of our own ethnic group in today and the stereotypes attributed to our "race" is rooted in racist ideology of the ruling class which is used to divide the working class to exploit workers. It is not inherent to our race or culture. It is not the personal fault of the individual. It has material roots in the capitalist system. We must understand that this



racist ideology has been used to divide workers from workers in order to prevent them from uniting to organize against their common enemy--the capitalists. The ruling class has also suppressed the record of the militant resistance of our ancestors to the oppressive conditions. It has suppressed some of the cultural expressions of our spirit of resistance. It has suppressed the vigorous and vital aspects of our culture to make us assimilate into their own culture and become submissive to it. By understanding this past-of struggle against oppression, of contributions to the present way of life that we enjoy of strength and vitality and courage-we can begin to put ourselves into perspective in the present and better grasp our conditions and plan to take hold of the future to work for progressive change.

Our main target is the students in the courses. We recruited students for the courses from the broader campus community. In our propaganda, our main focus is on the students on the campus.

Through project work with the Hui Paio student organization and through involvement in campus, community and workers struggles, they work with activists, many of whom also work with the Program, to develop struggles, programs and campaigns aimed at mobilizing and organizing the broader campus community. We should analyze the forces among the faculty and work with them in a united front way in building campaigns on the campus. We should take initiative and sponsor forums, and special events in cooperation with progressive forces on the campus, uniting with them to win over the middle forces, in order to isolate the right--the University administration, its lackeys and supporters.

TECHNIQUES USED TO DEVELOP CONSCIOUSNESS IN THE COURSES:

IN LECTURES, READINGS, LABS, PROJECTS, ASSIGNMENTS, GEOPOLITICAL TOURS:

- 1) develop students' class consciousness
  - identify classes at each stage of development in Hawaii and what is the balance of forces
  - identify with the working class by seeing that the majority of Hawaii's people are workers, that the majority of our ancestors were workers -- immigrants and native Hawaiians -- and that in the present we are part-time workers, and in the future we will too become workers.
- 2) Expose the barriers to class consciousness and unity
  - narrow nationalist outlook
  - "we are only students, what can we do?" outlook
  - petty bourgeois ideas of individualism, competition, etc.
  - "employee mentality"
  - "colonized mentality"
  - define and analyze material basis for concepts and social ideas
- 3) Link up their experience with the contemporary struggles and issues through speakers, readings, movies, discussions, tours and participation in projects
  - with workers, community, GI, student and ethnic movements
  - what they work on in the course (project) to the broader movement, and historical perspective
  - learn lessons from other struggles so that they can apply it to their own struggle to direct blows at the ruling class
  - with their experience at work with the general experiences of the working class
  - with their personal experiences of racism, exploitation as students in the housing market, with the broader experiences of people in Hawaii.
- 4) Define and analyze the material basis for concepts and social ideas that are barriers to building a united and revolutionary working class movement -- narrow nationalism, racism and petty bourgeois outlook.
- 5) Provide facts, concrete examples and an organized analysis and perspective of past and present struggles and issues.
- 6) Apply the dialectical, historical materialist method and outlook in presenting and analyzing the experiences of Hawaii's people and the social, economic and political development of Hawaiian society.
- 7) Explaining how various parts of the superstructure are used by the ruling class to exploit the working class
  - role of the State
  - education
  - religion
- 8) Put forward socialist and communist society as the inevitable outcome of class struggle.

## General Line for ES Program - Methods of Work

In order to carry out our role, we must strengthen our unity within the program, our link with the university community and with the masses of people. We do this by taking the style of work that promotes:

### 1) democratic discussion

In order to develop unity of action democratic discussion should be carried out not only among members of the ES Program but in our contact with the rest of the university community. Within the program all ideas should be expressed and taken into consideration. Nobody should be shut up because that person goes against the tide. Democratic discussion will always bring out the concrete truth. An example of this can be seen with the issue of the ES banner for the Stop All Evictions Now march/rally. Many people were hesitant of endorsing the banner without full discussion about the implications that would come about from endorsing the banner. After good and full discussion the banner was approved.

This type of style of work should not only be carried out within the program but also especially with out work with the students. In labs and other discussion sessions we should always let the students express their ideas whether they be advanced, middle or backward. The lab leader or instructor should not suppress the ideas of the students and just push his beliefs on the students. He should concretely show the students why a certain idea or method would be detrimental to the working class and the vast majority of the people and in that way win over the students to a working class perspective.

### 2) collective and individual responsibility

Whenever a staff member volunteers or is chosen to work on a committee he should not only carry out his individual assignments but also feel responsible for the work produced by his or her staff and the program. This means that even if a person is not responsible for a particular aspect of the course or program, if we see a problem or shortcoming then we should take the initiative to rectify and correct the situation. Being responsible includes many things like being on time for meetings, carrying out individual assignments, etc. Not being responsible turns off the people who are responsible and on time and creates much disunity among members of the staffs and program.

Whenever working in committees individuals who are entrusted with the responsibility of leadership or chairmanship of that committee should study hard and investigate thoroughly in order to make decisions on general and specific matters. It also helps to run good meetings and to devise correct methods of work. If a person is supposed to chair a meeting coming up, he should check out what items should be on the agenda, what is necessary to discuss, and any important announcements that has to be made. A good leader should also check if there are any personal or individual hassles among staff or committee members that should be brought out. The responsibility of the staff or committee members should be to abide by the majority decision of the group after thorough democratic discussion.

This style of work is also very important when working with the students. We must always be punctual and complete in our work and set good examples. Nothing turns students off more than coming late to a meeting or personal conference or forgetting to do something for the student. We must as much as possible be organized and professional in our work. How can we expect the students to do good work if we do not carry out our responsibilities in a professional manner?



### 3. Honest and open relations among staff with students and other members of the campus community.

In order to carry out this style of work we must always strive to combat subjectivism and sectarianism. We should not be subjective because this will lead us to pre-judge people in the staff and program without truly knowing everything about that person. We should not judge a person on how he looks or appears to be but should try hard to get to know that person before forming an opinion. This also applies to our work with students. Sometimes a student may be late in handing in assignments and we automatically consider that person a "slacker." But maybe the truth is that person is very busy going to school and working a part-time job. Without thorough investigation we would make false accusations toward the student.

We should not be sectarian because it will surely undermine the unity of the people among staff and in the program to just form little "cliques" that just look out for themselves and not the benefit of the whole program. Having good relationships and opposing sectarianism will also enhance our work because we can learn from other people's experiences and ideas on how to accomplish our tasks. This does not mean we should not take independent stands on issues that come before the staff or program but after thorough democratic discussion good working relationships should once again prevail.

Being sectarian with our students will also undermine our tasks of uniting all who can be united with our world outlook. We should not just talk story to the advanced students and ice out the middle and backward but should strive at all times to try and develop the majority of the students.

We must also combat liberalism in order to have honest and open relations among staff and with students. If a person makes a mistake we should not let things slide for the sake of being friends. We should give thorough constructive criticism in order to help that person and also the work of the organization. Whenever problems arise we should always talk about it openly and not criticize behind people's backs. We should try at all times to refrain from being arrogant and above taking on minor, seemingly unimportant assignments just because we are old lab leaders and have worked in the Program for a long time.

When working with students we should combat letting incorrect ideas slide by for the sake of keeping on good terms with our students and should always give our point of view. We should always be concerned for the well-being of the students and should always do investigation among the students as to their particular problems and hang-ups.

### 4. Practice criticism/self-criticism

We should practice this particular style of work to build unity and not to tear apart, so that we can learn from our mistakes, and also so that we do not become elitist and "big head." Many times it is hard to practice self-criticism because we are taught that to be wrong is very bad. But it is only natural to make mistakes when one is starting out and learning. Also this is true for even the most experienced and intelligent people. We should not be afraid to criticize ourselves but also we should try very hard to take our self-criticisms to heart. It is only if we ourselves really try to correct our mistakes that will make our self-criticism work.

We should also criticize people for not coming through but we have to do it in a manner that is geared to bring about unity and not dis-unity. We should not just cut a person down for making a mistake but if possible should always try to make helpful suggestions on how that person can correct his or her errors. If we practice this type of criticism in staff and among members of the program, then this will surely strengthen our unity within the program.

We must also practice criticism/self-criticism in our work with the students. We should always weigh the criticisms given to us by the students objectively and decide if the criticisms are valid. We should also decide how changes made according to their criticisms will serve the students better. Whenever we "screw up" in our work we should always make honest self-criticisms of ourselves to the students. It is in this way that we hope they will view us as being honest and above board. We hope that this will also make the students see our "serve the people" attitude.



And when we make criticisms of a student we should again do it to help the person be a better person and improve his style of work.

5. Last of all, I would like to say that all the particular styles of work that I have mentioned are written about by Marx, Lenin, and Mao Tse-Tung. So we encourage everyone who would like to gain a better understanding of the points mentioned above to study the works of these men and others who have written in depth about this world outlook so that we may have better relations among staff and program members and with the overall U.H. community.

## Draft Proposal for ES General Line

### WE RECOGNIZE THE NEED FOR FUNDAMENTAL SOCIAL CHANGE

### The History of Society Is the History of Class Struggle

During the primitive stages of human development, technology was limited to sticks and stones. What was produced was sufficient only for a bare existence. But with the development of new tools, crafts and new methods of farming a surplus was produced above what was needed for subsistence. In order to expand production wars were fought and captives were made slaves to use the tools to produce wealth for their captors. This was the first division of society into 2 classes -- masters and slaves, exploiters and exploited, people who live upon the labor of others.

It was a ruthless and brutal system. Slaves were but "talking tools" and their lives were held cheaply by their masters who lived lives of luxury and waste. The pyramids of Egypt and the tombs of China, Japan and Mexico attest to the extremes to which slaves were forced to labor. It was the countless masses of slaves who built the Egyptian, Greek, Roman and Chinese civilizations to their heights.

Instead of developing new methods of production to increase its wealth, the ruling class conquered new territories from which it extracted taxes, goods and more slaves. Constant wars and compulsory military service led many of the free population into debt. Driven out by slave labor, the free craftsmen joined the impoverished masses who were without means of earning a living. There were numerous bloody slave revolts such as the rebellion led by the Roman slave Spartacus. Besides internal conflicts, there were revolts in the conquered territories and the threat of invasion.

These conditions gave rise to the State and the instruments of government which the ruling class used to protect and maintain its power and wealth -- the armies, the police, the courts, officials and tax collectors. But the state was not able to arrest the decay of society, nor was it able to stop the revolutionary developments in the forces of production.

New methods of working iron, the plough, the loom and new methods of farming plus a labor force of runaway slaves and free -- but landless -- peasants provided the opportunity to expand production to a level never before possible.

The obstacle to progress was the reactionary slaveowning class. But slave revolts and civil wars struck deathblows to the slave system, and in its wake the class of landlords, in whose hands land had become concentrated, rose to power. In contradiction to this class were the masses of peasants and ex-slaves who, in return for the right to subsist on the land, were required to pay service and a part of their products to the landlord. Essentially, what arose out of the destruction of the old society was a new form of exploitation -- feudalism.

The development of trade and exchange intensified the exploitation of the masses, as the feudal lords' appetites for luxuries grew. In order to obtain money with which to buy these foreign goods, a greater surplus was required to exchange for money. The oppression of the makaainana by the chiefs during the sandalwood trade in Hawaii is a clear example of the effects of trade on a pre-capitalist economy.

The monopoly of trade led to the accumulation of wealth in the hands of the merchants who were eager to develop new forms of production -- manufacture and mass agriculture. The landlord-tenant bond, the ownership of land by the feudal lords, and the



state which upheld the feudal order of society were barriers to this development. But the feudal landlord class was in crisis.

The feudal mode of production was such that the methods of farming and the landlord-peasant relation yielded low productivity, thus causing the feudal lords to incur debts and driving the peasants into poverty. Rather than improving the forces of production, the feudal lords chose to increase the exploitation of their subjects and to capture the wealth of their rivals through wars. This only led to deeper debt and the impoverishment of the masses.

### Modern History is the Record of the Ruthless Expansion of Capitalism

The rising bourgeoisie of merchants and manufacturers and the new mode of production they represented -- capitalism -- required land and labor. Land they got by capturing control of the state and enacting laws to break up feudal landholdings and making land into a commodity to be bought and sold. In Hawaii, the haole capitalists engineered the Great Mahele which resulted in the alienation of the Hawaiians from the land and the concentration of land in the capitalist class. In England, the bourgeoisie drove peasants off the land by force and turned the farmland into pastures or large farms. The landless and debt-ridden peasants had two choices -- become beggars or wage-laborers for the bourgeoisie. So it was by dispossessing the peasants of their land that the bourgeoisie formed its labor force, the proletariat.

Seeking greater wealth, the bourgeoisie turned to the exploitation of lands overseas. The rape of Africa and the enslavement of its people, the colonization of the New World and the plunder of the East Indies was the European capitalists' road to economic and political world domination. Estimates of the amount of wealth produced by the lucrative slave trade and squeezed out of the labor of the slaves come to about \$1 billion dollars. The cost -- 60 million African lives, not including the decimation of native populations in the West Indies and Central America.

By studying the history of human society we can see that the development of society from the lower to the higher stages has been accomplished by the overthrow of one class by another which represents a more advanced form of production.

This is the law of social development that revolutionized Hawaiian society between 1778 and the late 1880s. Captain James Cook, when he set foot on the shores of these islands in 1778, represented the highest level of social development that Europe had achieved up to that time. He introduced a more highly developed set of productive forces -- iron tools, ships and gunpowder -- and a new set of productive relations -- the exploitation of workers by capitalists to yield surplus to exchange for profit. This signalled the total dislocation of Hawaiian society, beginning with the oppression of the common people by their own chiefs and the decimation of the Hawaiian population through overwork and disease.

The existing mode of production in Hawaiian society -- communal property, a system of sharing, and production for subsistence -- were obstacles in the drive to develop capitalist production. Following the same pattern as their peers in other areas of the world, the capitalists in Hawaii engineered the Great Mahele which in effect dispossessed the Hawaiians of their lands and provided them with little choice but to sell their labor to the capitalists.



In America, the colonial relation between the 13 colonies and Britain was the fetter upon the development of capitalism in the colonies. The Revolution of 1776 smashed the economic and political domination of the British ruling class and paved the way for the unrestricted development of capitalism in America.

The ascendancy of the capitalist class was not limited to the economic sphere. It created or altered institutions to advance and consolidate its control over all of society. That religion which supported the values of laissez faire capitalism (unrestricted capitalism) became the religion recognized by the ruling class. Schools took on the function of transmitting the values of the ruling class -- free enterprise, competition, individualism, profit -- and training workers to maintain the division of labor -- the class divisions in society. In Hawaii, the University of Hawaii was established to serve the technological interests of the sugar planters, and the discriminatory English standard school system was set up to separate out the children of the haole elite from the children of the working class, to train the former into the elite class and to train the latter into the laboring class.

A state apparatus was built to protect the interests of the capitalists. In the article "Constitution Called Work of Minority Rich" in the August 21, 1975 issue of the Advertiser, it is pointed out that:

our Constitution was devised as a means of protecting land speculators, bankers, manufacturers, shippers and slave owners from the politics and tendencies of the new country's majority of small farmers. . . .

the American Constitution simply doesn't make sense unless it is understood that the document was written by representatives of a minority class of white men who not only stood to gain financially from the new government but were being overwhelmed by the increasingly democratic forces coming to power in the state governments.

In Hawaii, the Bayonet Constitution was forced upon Kalakaua which made the King "subordinate in theory as well as in fact to the propertied haoles of Honolulu." (Lawrence Fuchs, Hawaii Pono, p. 29)

The state instituted laws to protect private property, tariffs to secure the home market from foreign competition, and military defense against foreign aggression.

It was this capitalist class which then led the nation into a policy of expansion and national oppression which committed genocide against the native American Indians and conquered and annexed Mexican territory in the Southwest, and the Philippines and Hawaii in the Pacific. Why did a nation, born out of struggle against national oppression, become an oppressing nation in turn? The answer lies in the expand or die nature of capitalism. The pursuit of profits leads to increasing needs for land, labor, markets, and capital. When the nation cannot supply these demands, the capitalists have to seek other means. These means have included territorial conquest, colonization, and importation of foreign labor. The fact of history is that the wealth of the monopoly capitalist class in the U.S. was squeezed out of the superexploitation of non-white people at home -- the Indians, the Blacks, the Chicanos, the Asians -- and abroad in Asia, Latin America, and Africa.



### The Fundamental Contradiction Under Capitalism Is Social Production vs. Private Appropriation

Everywhere, the ruling classes of the world have built their wealth and power on the backs of working people. Under capitalism, the bourgeoisie first destroyed the previous means of livelihood, concentrated the means of production in their hands, provided the masses with no choice but to sell their labor power to the capitalists, paid them low wages, concentrated workers in large numbers in mass production of commodities, and then took control of what was produced and sold the commodities for profit -- their profit -- while the workers made barely enough to sustain themselves

It is this fundamental contradiction in capitalism -- social production but private appropriation -- which gives rise to the dynamic in capitalist society: the conflict between the working class -- the millions who have no means of living except by their labor, who produce the wealth, and whose labor is the driving force in society -- vs. the capitalist class -- the handful who do no productive labor but live on the billions of dollars they appropriate from the labor of the workers.

This exploitative relationship is the cause of recurring economic crises. Workers produce x dollars worth of goods but are paid only a portion of what they produce so that the capitalists can take the rest as profit. But in order for the capitalists to get anything, the entire batch of products must be sold for x dollars. The workers can only buy a portion, so a surplus is left over. Credit and time payments whittle down the surplus a little, but most of it has to be dumped onto markets overseas.

### Capitalism Is In Decay

When there were lands to conquer, resources to plunder, markets to corner, unorganized labor to exploit, and an abundance of capital to invest the capitalist class was the rising force in society. But clearly, at the present stage, expansion is becoming more and more difficult for the capitalists. Countries are resisting the inflow of U.S. capital and are levying tariffs on American goods. There are no areas left to conquer. Third World nations are fighting back after decades of exploitation and political domination. Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Angola, South Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos are recent examples of this revolutionary trend. The implications for imperialist countries, especially the U.S., are clear. No longer will they be able to obtain raw materials cheap from Third World countries who will control their own resources and will use them to develop their economies in order to raise the standard of living of their people. It will become increasingly difficult for imperialists to dump their surplus goods overseas as Third World and Second World countries aim toward self-reliance and trade based on mutual benefit.

The recurring crisis of overproduction, then, will worsen. And, as the monopoly capitalists become less able to export their problems we can expect more intense exploitation and oppression at home. Already, workers have been laid off in the tens of thousands and those left on the jobs face speed-ups. In Hawaii, the statewide unemployment rate reached a 24-year high of 9.0 in January, 1976. Molokai and Lanai had unemployment rates of 34.5% and 55% respectively, which means that more than 1 out of 3 workers were without jobs.



The Department of Commerce reported that the nation's Gross National Product (GNP), the broadest measure of national economic activity, "declined for a record second straight year in 1975 . . . There have never before been back-to-back yearly drops in the GNP since record-keeping began in 1946." (Star-Bulletin, 1/20/76) In Hawaii, the balance of payments with mainland and foreign countries for 1973 showed a deficit of \$299.5 million, "more than 2½ times the previous year's deficit." (Hawaii '75 Annual Economic Review, 25th Edition, Bank of Hawaii, p. 32) Tourism, one of Hawaii's top industries, had a growth of only 1.3% in 1975. "In the past decade, the industry has been accustomed to increases of 16 percent to more than 30 percent a year. . . ." (Star-Bulletin, 1/28/76)

The recession has widened the gap between the rich and poor in the U.S. Between 1968 and 1973 "a total of \$20 billion was transformed from the bottom three-fifths of U.S. families to the upper two-fifths." Statistics from the U.S. Bureau of the Census Survey, 1973, show that:

. . . the poorest 20 per cent of the nation's families, those with incomes of \$6,081 a year and under, received only 5.5 per cent of the total income. At the other end of the income scale, the top 20 per cent of families, consisting of those whose incomes exceeded \$19,253, received 41.1 per cent of the total. They had more income than the entire 60 per cent of the population at the bottom. The average family in this top "quintile" received 7.5 times the income of the average family in the lowest 20 per cent. (Advertiser, 6/2/75)

Inflation -- which, like recession, is inherent in an unplanned, profit-driven economy -- has brought added hardship to the working class. Because of massive military expenditures to secure foreign markets, the government has been spending more than it has been taking in and printing up more money to pay its bills, to balance payments, and to stimulate the sagging economy. As a result our currency is not worth much more than the paper it is printed on.

The Census Bureau reported that "American families in 1974 had about the same real income as they did in 1969, even though the dollar amount of earnings rose substantially. . . ." (Star-Bulletin, 1/31/76). The Bank of Hawaii's annual economic report says that in Hawaii:

. . . while the average wage in 1974, in current dollars was \$8,881, in "real" terms, using constant 1960 dollars, the average wage paid amounted to \$5,337 last year, the lowest since 1969, reflecting the serious inroads made by inflation in Hawaii as elsewhere in the United States. (p. 15)

The cost of living in Hawaii in 1974 increased 10.5% over 1973. The cost of food rose 17.4% and the cost of housing rose 7.6%. The Department of Labor estimated that a typical family of four in Hawaii on a low budget (renting a home and having a diet largely starch with little meat) in 1974 needed an income of \$11,383 (an increase of 25% from 1972) but State statistics show that "It's clear that the 'average' salary for a worker is barely enough to meet the Labor Department's 'low-budget' needs for a family of four." (Advertiser, 4/16/75)

The Census Bureau also reported that inflation "plunged another 1.3 million persons into poverty" so that over 10% of the population (24.3 million Americans)



were classified as poor in 1974. What was significant was that "all those who fell into poverty in 1974 were employed." The Bureau reported that "the 12 per cent inflation of 1974 -- the worst since World War II -- eroded wage and salary gains made in the previous four years, but hurt the richest least." (Star-Bulletin, 1/31/76)

The crisis is hitting national minorities with particular force. In the ghettos they are forced to pay even higher prices. On the job site, they are last hired, first fired. They become scapegoats -- pointed to by the ruling class as the cause of society's problems -- as a tactic to divide people's struggles. Deportation raids are taking place against aliens. Blacks are subjected to racist genetics studies which are used by the ruling class to justify and reinforce inequality -- to justify sterilization (William Shockley) and cutting off of funds to upgrade the quality of education (Arthur Jensen). A genetics study is being conducted right here at UH to research the hereditability of cognition. The study is justified on the grounds that it will provide a "basis for future decisions about the disturbing but inevitable questions about population control which will have to be made at governmental level."

Since slave society when men, by virtue of their ownership of the means of production, came to dominate society, women have been exploited as cheap or unpaid labor and denied equal rights in employment, education, religion, and politics. Only after a long struggle beginning in 1848 was women's suffrage finally won in 1920 in the U.S. But as time passed and the condition of women remained unchanged, women realized that suffrage was not the answer to their exploitation in the home and in the factory. The Women's Liberation Movement of the 1960s and 1970s aimed at achieving equality where it matters -- in the economic sphere -- and they were conceded the Equal Rights Amendment. In the present economic crisis, however, women find themselves in a double bind -- having to work to keep the family's income ahead of inflation but being among the first to be laid off. In these conditions, the ERA is but an empty gesture.

The crisis does not spare the youth. "Half the nation's 16 million young people between 16 and 19 are jobless, including two-thirds of the blacks in this age range." (Advertiser, 7/27/75) Today's youth are growing up in a decadent capitalist culture which exploits sex and violence in books, magazines, TV shows and movies. With little to look forward to they are attracted to mysticism, dope, and religious fanaticism.

The NEA said that in 1975 students committed more than 100 murders, 12,000 armed robberies, 9,000 rapes and 204,000 aggravated assaults." (Star-Bulletin, 2/2/76) In the schools themselves there were 207,000 burglaries and vandalism that resulted in 600 million dollars worth of damage. The "solution" to these conditions has been:

"Millions are being spent on sophisticated security systems and armed police patrols in and around troubled schools. Closed-circuit television, electric sensors, walkie-talkies, pocket-size 'panic buttons' that allow teachers to signal the central office when threatened by youths -- these already are used where crime stalks the corridors and classrooms. . . ."

The future that capitalist society holds for today's youth is bleak. The prospects of unemployment and having to fight in an imperialist war offer little hope.

The burden of the crisis is being shifted onto college students, too. Hikes in tuition, dorm, and parking fees are driving up the cost of education, while funds for financial aid programs are being cut back. More and more working class and



self-supporting students are turning to the community colleges. In 1974, 23,600 students out of 40,000 students in the University of Hawaii system held jobs. (Star-Bulletin, 2/6/76) While the costs of education increase each year, the quality of education is deteriorating. Cutbacks in course offerings and faculty have created less desirable learning conditions. Ethnic studies programs which minority students fought for and won have been cut. On November 18, President Ford asked Congress to cut \$1.28 billion in 1976 education appropriation. The AAUPP Legislative News, Nov. 26, 1975, reported that the proposed cuts include:

. . . the entire appropriation of \$240 million for Supplemental Educational Opportunity Grants; \$140 million of a total appropriation of \$390 million for College Work-Study; and the entire appropriation of \$322.5 million for the National Direct Student Loans. Recissions were also requested for language training and area-studies centers, community service programs, . . . veterans' cost of instruction . . . ethnic heritage studies. . .

#### The Capitalist Class Is Declining and The Oppressed Are the Rising Force

The intent of the capitalist class is to maintain the status quo, to keep this system of exploitation intact. For this reason, the capitalist class is a reactionary force. Hawaii's history is filled with incidents of the reaction of the capitalist class against the struggles of the workers for a better quality of life. In the 1920 sugar strike, the bosses responded by evicting the Japanese workers and their families from their homes. Some 6,000 people were forced to seek temporary shelter in Honolulu where they were struck down in large numbers by a flu epidemic. Many died. In 1938, striking Hilo dock workers protested the arrival of a shipload of strikebreakers. The police opened fire and shot or bayoneted 36 people, including women. To this day, the incident is referred to as the Hilo Massacre.

The monopoly capitalists have slowed down or shut down production and have laid off workers until the surplus of goods wore down. They have kept goods off the market, creating artificial shortages and thereby driving up prices. They have destroyed goods -- goods that the people need but cannot afford -- rather than selling them at a lower price. They have fixed prices in the industry they monopolize, as we saw in the sugar and oil industries. They have closed down factories and have run away to foreign countries where materials and labor are cheap. All these they have done because of their primary concern -- profits for their class.)

Monopoly capitalists have used the courts to impose injunctions on strikes and to undermine the ability and right of workers to strike. For example, on October 15, 1975, the Federal court ruled in favor of Hawaiian Telephone Company, denying unemployment compensation to the 3,000 HawTel workers who struck the company in 1974.

The monopoly capitalists have used the police to enforce court orders, to break up strikes and people's demonstrations (such as the January 21, 1976 arrests at the People's Coalition demonstration at the Capitol), to evict people from their homes to pave the way for their profit-seeking development (Kalama Valley), and to terrorize national minorities in their communities.

The monopoly capitalists have used the legislature to enact anti-strike bills such as Senate Bill 1126, introduced by Inouye and Fong in 1975. Other pro-monopoly capitalist bills are the Rodino bill which is aimed against aliens who the capitalists



first exploit and then try to get rid of when they create a "labor surplus," and Senate Bill 1. Bill Blum of the National Lawyer's Guild points out:

As the current economic crisis in the US deepens, a confrontation between those seeking progressive social change and those who seek to preserve the outmoded economic and political structures of monopoly capitalism is almost inevitable . . . The interests protected by S-1 are the values of accumulated wealth and property. The bill directly frustrates such vital interests of the American people as free speech, meaningful work, adequate and stable living standards and active participation in the formulation of social and political policy. It also renders the class character of the government transparent.

The monopoly capitalists have used the military and the CIA to intervene in the internal affairs of foreign countries in order to destabilize anti-imperialist governments such as Allende's government in Chile, to protect American investments from worker uprisings and attempts to nationalize multinational industries in Latin America and the Middle East, and to assassinate anti-imperialist leaders such as Cuba's Castro and the Congo's Lumumba.

Billions of dollars in foreign aid have been spent to prop up racist, fascist, and puppet regimes that protect the interests of American imperialists. Repressive governments including 56 military dictatorships, in So. Africa, So. Vietnam, So. Korea, Greece, Spain, the Philippines and other countries have received \$81 billion in U.S. aid since 1945 which they have used to "terrorize and subjugate their own people," according to a study made by Senator Alan Cranston of California.

All this the monopoly capitalists have done through campaign contributions, influential lobbies, bribes (Spiro Agnew), putting their own men into high offices (notably Robert McNamara of Ford Motor Company as Secretary of Defense under Kennedy, and presently Nelson Rockefeller as Vice President and Henry Kissinger -- formerly with the Rockefellers -- as Secretary of State) and primarily because historically the state was set up for the purpose of protecting the interests of the bourgeoisie. Therefore, it is not surprising that 20% of U.S. Senators are millionaires, including Inouye and Fong of Hawaii.

All of this is a sign that capitalism is dying. The capitalist class is trying desperately to save itself, but alternatives are being eliminated one by one, and its forces are declining. Government at every level is in or faces extreme financial crisis and is diseased with corruption. Watergate exposed it to the nation, and the majority of the people have lost confidence in government. More and more people are seeing the courts as tools of the rich, and the rich can no longer confine its conflicts with oppressed people within the limits of the courtroom. The FBI and CIA have been exposed and public pressure has forced them to restrict their repressive activity. The Vietnam war exposed the military's role in suppressing people's struggles for freedom to protect American big business. This consciousness led many soldiers to refuse to fight in Vietnam and will make it difficult for the military to fight future counterrevolutionary wars.

The decline of the capitalist class is occurring as a consequence of the rising forces of the oppressed -- the working class, oppressed nations, national



minorities, women, and students. Historically, the working class -- seeking a better life for the vast majority -- continually struggled to get a larger share of the wealth they produced and for greater control over their lives and, therefore, the working class has been a progressive force in moving society forward.

It was the working people who struggled to get the Bill of Rights written into the U.S. Constitution to guarantee democratic rights to common people and who fought for and won better working conditions and protection -- the 8-hour day, better wages, safer working conditions, collective bargaining, unemployment insurance, and workmen's compensation. Today, the working classes in every capitalist country are united by common interests and together the millions of workers of the world constitute a mighty force.

Numerous nations in the Third World have fought against imperialist exploitation and domination and have won independence in this century. Oppressed nations continue to rise up. The world is in upheaval as revolutions sweep across the continents. In 1974 Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Angola won independence from Portugal. Portugal, a Second World country, itself a victim of parasitic imperialism, is in political turmoil. In 1975, Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos defeated the biggest superpower in the world -- the U.S. -- and won national liberation after decades of undying struggle. In the Middle East, in Latin America, in Puerto Rico, in the South Pacific, in the Philippines resistance grows day by day.

National minorities have led the struggle against discrimination and racism and have forced numerous political and economic concessions from the government which have improved the quality of life of many in our country.

Women, constituting half of our country's population, since the late 1800s have become a political force fighting against economic exploitation and sexism. Efforts are being made to bring correct theory and leadership to the women's movement, to bring the masses of women into the movement, and to link it up with other progressive forces in society.

Students all over the world have played a vanguard role in revolutionary movements. In China, in the May 4, 1919 Movement, students sparked the cultural revolution against the Japanese imperialists, the oppressive feudal landlords, and the corrupt government officials. Today in Korea, the Philippines, and Chile, students are protesting against the repressive regimes in their countries. In the U.S., students were the driving force in the movement against the Vietnam war, spreading anti-imperialist ideas, organizing thousands in struggle, and raising the consciousness of the nation. The economic crisis is drawing students into sharper contradiction with the ruling class, and student fightback organizations are being formed all over the mainland and in Hawaii.

### The Trend in the World Is Revolution and Socialism

Capitalist society has reached the point where the forces of production -- the level of skill of the workers and advanced technology -- provide the basis for a standard of living only dreamed of in the past. But in contradiction to this is the reactionary monopoly capitalist class. The means of production -- the land, the factories, the machines -- which are absolutely essential to produce our basic needs are privately owned by a small class of monopoly capi-



talists. And because they will produce for their profit, the people's needs for housing, adequate food and clothing, proper medical care, decent education and old-age security are not provided for. The working class which produces the wealth in society is driven into poverty.

Again the contradiction between the forces of production and the relations of production -- those that produce the wealth of society and those that appropriate the wealth -- has intensified. Historically, this contradiction has been resolved through the overthrow of the ruling class by the class which represents the more advanced form of production and the formation of a new social system. Contemporary history shows that the contradiction in capitalism has led to proletarian revolution -- the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat -- and the construction of a socialist society based on social ownership and control of the productive forces in society and where the state serves to facilitate the transition to a classless society, free of exploitation and inequality.

Fundamental changes were made. Capitalist relations of production -- the root cause of economic, political, and social oppression -- were destroyed. The bourgeois state -- the legislative body, the courts, and the military -- whose function was to maintain the rule of the bourgeoisie was abolished. And bourgeois culture and ideology were combatted.

Beginning with the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in 1917, socialism has been steadily advancing. China, Albania, No. Korea, Cuba, and in 1975 So. Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos have also won liberation from imperialism and the oppressive rule of the bourgeoisie and are building socialist societies. The older socialist countries have made tremendous strides in increasing productivity, stabilizing prices, raising the general standard of living, and bringing about full employment and racial and sexual equality,

#### The Working Class Is the Main Force

The main force in all of these revolutions has been the working class. Under capitalism, workers have been brought together into large productive units. They have been taught to work as a team, and they have developed discipline and organization. As such, the working class -- together with the available machinery -- represents the highest development of society's productive forces. Thus the working class has the skill to realize the vast productive potential inherent in machinery and large-scale social production to better the conditions of life of the masses.

#### We Stand With The Working Class

The history of ethnic minorities and the whole working class in Hawaii is a history of struggle against the bourgeoisie to better the standard of living and to gain democratic rights. Only through struggle did the quality of life of Hawaii's ethnic and working people improve. Unionism and electoral politics were initially progressive and brought needed reforms but have not solved the basic economic, political and social inequalities in our society.

We look at the alternatives facing us. One is the continued existence of capitalism through more intense exploitation and oppression of people at home and abroad, crisis, war, temporary recovery, then worse crisis, fascism, war and devastation. The other alternative is the hope for a better life that socialism offers. We recognize the need for fundamental social change and looking over the development of society, seeing that each social revolution has brought about a better society, and seeing the trend in the world today toward socialism we are open to the study of socialism and we are open to the study of the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought and its application to the historical and contemporary conditions in Hawaii, the U.S., and the world.